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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

THESIS

"THE ECONOMIC HANDICAP OF THE NEGRO WORKER IN AMERICA."

SUBMITTED BY

VIRGIL WENDELL HODGES

(A.B; CLAFLIN COLLEGE, 1927)

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INTRODUCTION

The Negro people and the problems that center in or revolve about their presence and place in American life have been the theme for much discussion since their emancipation from slavery. At the close of the Civil War in 1865 they were brought face to face with a condition of life hitherto unknown to them. It is true that a few of them were skilled artisans, a few had acquired some property, but the vast majority of them had nothing, neither land, house, nor implements. No people on earth ever had a more difficult task set before them than the Negroes during this period of their national existence.

Illiterate, without self-control or self-reliance, accustomed to obey and not to think, weak and timid and without material resources, they had to find a place in a civilization built up by a stronger people, they had to fight a fight unarmed and not understanding the terms of the conflict.

It is often claimed by their advocates that no such progress as they have made has ever been acheived before by any people in a like short period of time. They have come up from slavery to be prominent in agriculture, commerce, banking, education, the professions, the arts and sciences. They have shown that they

are worthy of all the considerations that they have received.

However, despite this apparent progress in the various fields of endeavor, industrially, they still occupy an inferior place among the working people of America. The purpose of this study is, therefore, to present a survey of the development and transition of Negro labor in the United States from the earlier agricultural occupations to the entrance of large numbers into the more recent industrial occupations opened to them.

A critical analysis will also be made of the chief difficulties with which they must contend in order to secure suitable employment, the attitude of organized labor toward them, the existence of peonage in certain localities, and a general analysis of the various factors which make for economic instability among this racial group in America today.

I. Historical Sketch of Negro Labor Since 1865.

The changing economic status of the Negro worker in America began with reconstruction and has continued to some degree since that time. At the outset I wish to make it clear that I approach this subject not with a feeling or attitude that there should be any special consideration given the Negro worker in America. It must be understood that they represent a part of the occupational personell of the nation, and consequently they must share in the misfortune of unemployment and depression quite the same as other working classes.

In the early history of this country the broad fertile tracts of virgin soil on the coastal plains made cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar cane, and corn the staple crops of the South. It was not therefore until the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 that cotton became the predominating crop of the South. At this period, and for some time thereafter, the Negroes formed a monopoly in this major industry of that section. Likewise, more than seventy-five per cent of the colored population of the country lived in the South at that time. And so, the necessity for the formation of Negro workers into concrete organizations whereby their interests and the welfare of their families might

1. Differential Effects of Imagery Cues on Sleep Loss.

be safe-guarded was of very little importance. But as the country gradually shifted from the agricultural to the industrial stage, and as the introduction of foreign labor into our markets increased, the Negroes began to face many perplexing problems which necessitated immediate organization of their labor forces. All over the country there arose a hue and cry over the importation of foreign, especially Chinese, labor to American shores.

Therefore the first successful attempt to organize Negro workers on a national scale, was made at a national labor convention in Washington, January, 1869. This convention assembled in Union League Hall, January 13, 1869. "It was called to order by William Nesbitt of Pennsylvania, who read the call to the convention. Brief addresses were made by the Reverend H.H. Garnett and Frederick Douglass."# After these addresses, permanent officers of the convention were elected. The labor situation at this time was so grave that any suggestion to the workers assembled seemed to have been of the most far reaching significance. For instance, commenting on the meeting then in progress, the New Era of Washington, a Negro publication said: "the franchise would lubricate the corroded hinges upon which swing wide open the portals

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1.# The Baltimore Sun, July 19, 1869
2.# The New Era (Washington) January 13,1869
3.# The Baltimore Sun, July 28, 1869

of the temple of industry,closed against the Northern colored man's right to labor and which can only be opened by the talismanic word of two syllables, viz: the ballot."#

The next meeting of laborers was called at the Douglass Institute in Baltimore, July 19, 1869, in order to effect "a central state organization."# This was the first State labor convention among Negroes of which there is any specific reference. Isaace Meyers, a long loved friend among Negro workers, was called to the chair, and he spoke in part as follows:"White mechanics have their trades Unions and refuse to allow colored men to work with them, and so, colored men should be alive to their interests and organize in the same manner."#

There had been earlier efforts toward organizing Negro workers but these ended in failures, partly because the economic conditions under which they labored did not necessitate it and partly because of ignorant and self-ambitious leaders. But with the emergence of Isaace Meyers, Negro labor, in its efforts to organize into constructive channels, gained a new impetus. As evidence of his faithfulness and loyalty to organized labor, the following is representative:"He was a great pioneer of organized labor. He started life as an apprenticeship caulker and superintendent of

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The Baltimore Sun,July 27, 1869.

caulkers. His name soon became the watchword among Negro workers who desired national organization. His call for a gathering of Negro workers met a ready response."#

This same Isaace Meyers issued a call for a national convention of Negroes throughout the country to meet at Union League Hall in Washington, on the first Monday in December, 1869,"in order to ascertain the conditions of Negro labor throughout the United States and to begin to effect a constructive program whereby these conditions might be alleviated." Accordingly, on December 6, 1869, the National Labor Convention of colored men assembled at Union League Hall, Washington, D.C. More than one hundred delegates and representatives were present from almost every section of the country on the opening day. The convention lasted five days, covering a wide range of subjects, from the "dignity of labor to the organization of working men's Association."#

This was the first meeting of a national character to which white and Negro workers were invited of which there is any specific record. From that time until the present, the two groups have been meeting as a central labor group, having as their common objective the working man's interests.

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1. #Wesley,C.H; "Negro Labor in the United States."P.177
2. #The Baltimore Sun, July 28, 1869.
3. #Ibid; 27, 1869.

Although politics, racial barriers, and misguided leadership are yet fundamental factors, the laboring masses are gradually learning that the interests of labor are one and that there should be no distinction in the ranks of organized labor because of race or nationality; that there is but one dividing line- that which separates man into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labors.

1. The Negro workers in the South.

The great majority of Negro workers of the South are devoted almost exclusively to farming. A study of the United States Census for 1910 shows that seventy-one per cent of the Negro population ten years of age or over were gainfully employed. Fourteen per cent of all farms in the country were operated by Negroes, although they constituted only about ten per cent of the total population. The total acreage of farm property operated by Negroes in 1910 was 42,279,510. The total value of their farm property was $499,941,234, showing an increase of 128 per cent in ten years.

In the South, Negroes have a great opportunity to become successful land-owners. Every encouragement is given them by the Southern white people to own and operate their own farms. Fortunately, Negroes are beginning to take advantage of this growing opportunity, and, instead of remaining tenants and share-croppers, they are beginning to operate their own farms.

Despite the fact that there has been a heavy migration from the agricultural districts of the South, because of the ravages of the boll-weevil, the progressive movement in Negro farming has steadily continued. This is reflected in the increasing number of annual farmers' conferences, community, county and State fairs, which are being held throughout the Southern States.

As evidence of the awakened interest among Negro farmers the following comment testifies:

"The 1924 Annual Tuskegee Farmers' Conference brought together one of the finest group of Negro farmers ever assembled in the South. This gathering of farmers indicated that the day of the ox in farming has passed....One was struck by the intelligent manner in which they discussed the problems which are now confronting the farmers of the country in general; as for example, the marketing problem, the problem of combating the boll-weevil. Their discussion of the preparation of fertilizers and the chemistry involved therein is an indication of this growing intelligence which will help to offset the migration of large numbers from the farms by enabling those remaining to successfully graple with the problems of the use of machinery and the application of science to farming."#

Thus we see then, both from the point of view of direct influence and emphasis, Booker Washington's program of industrial education is becoming increasingly popular among Negroes of the South. And through it they are rapidly solving their farm problems by the application of intelligent, scientific and modern methods to the production of successful crops; the substitution of new methods for old ones in such a way as to produce the highest possible returns from the science of agriculture.

Important as is the agricultural life of the Negro workers in the South, any discussion which limits itself to this phase alone, without at the same time taking into consideration the various industries in which they find useful employment, would be quite inadequate to a complete understanding of their conditions in that section.

Negro Year Book. P. 3.

The South is undergoing a rapid industrial expansion due to the introduction of textile industries into that section. Because of serious depressions in the textile mills in Northern industries, especially New England, and because of the high cost of production, many operators in these industries have effected a Southward movement which gives promise to a new era in the economic life of the South. As evidence of this movement the following is typical:

"Since 1921 about a million spindles have moved South; last year about 100,000 spindles and 2,000 looms... Whenever these spindles reach the South they are usually operated day and night and therefore(the 100,000) become equivalent to 2,000,000 spindles."

"The movement South is a part of the great industrial expansion of the Southern States. The firm of Case Pomeroy and Company lists $170,000,000 to be spent in establishing new manufacturing plants along the Southern Railway alone- and other millions have been appropiated for mills and for factories on other railroads lines. Here are a few of the developments listed: The Dupont Rayon Company plans to erect a $10,000,000 plant in Richmond and a $5,000,000 plant near Nashville, Tenn; the Troy Woolen and Cotton Manufacturing Company will spend $5,000,000 at Waycross,Ga."#

Along with the establishment of these mills and cotton factories, come also, many acute problems for solution, especially with regards to Negro workers. In the first place, adjustments from agricultural to the industrial trades have to be made, racial barriers must be surmounted, in short, these Northern industries must

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Social Service Bulletin, September 1, 1928.Vol.18.#13.

adjust themselves to Southern sentiment and laws. And this gives rise to the question of the disparity between the wages of Negro and white workers, employed at the same type of work. Thus answering this question Mr. Thomas says:

"The only avenues opened to the Negroes in many of these industries are in the lowest paid jobs, such as janitors, porters, cleaners. From some of these jobs he is excluded altogether. For instance, in the Ford plant in Atlanta, which employs 650 people, not one, even the janitor, is colored. The Southeastern wholesale company employs only eighty-three Negroes out of an employee personell of 1,383. While the Negroes represent one third of the population, his representation in these plants is only 4.1 per cent...In many cities Negroes cannot become licensed electricians and plumbers. The Negroes who formerly drove the city truck in Atlanta for the removal of garbage for $48 a month have been replaced by white drivers for $100 a month."#

The condition described above is typical in most of the larger cities in the South. The hardest tasks fall to the Negro workers. As one correspondent of the Baltimore Afro-American puts it:

"The whole family works. The men in the city are janitors, porters, automobile mechanics, laborers, and what-nots, while the women are cooks, nurses, chambermaids, scrubwomen and washwomen. It would be hard to beleive the low wages paid to Negro workers in the South. A good cook can be hired for $3 a week. A grown able-bodied man will sell his labor power for $5 a week, while a youth will deliver groceries a whole week for a dollar and a half."#

Whether or not there is any hope for better conditions among these people is beyond presnt understanding. This much is true, they have been and are the

1.#Thomas, J. O; "National Conference of Social Work.P.458
2.#Baltimore Afro-American, January 26, 1928.

most exploited people in the South.

Mr. Evans, a South African visitor to this country, after making a study of conditions among the Southern Negroes, wrote his impression in a book entitled, "Black and White in the Southern States" in which he draws the conclusion that: " It is difficult to see how his status can be improved. He is being worsted in industrial competition and retains the right to work in ill-paid callings undesired by the whites and consequently has to live in surrounding that tend to drag him down."#

#Evans,E.M; "Black And White in the Southern States,P.222cf.

2. The Negro Workers in the North.

The Negro's position in the industrial life of the North is so intimately connected with the changes due to the World War that a brief reference to certain facts of common knowledge will be helpful. With the beginning of the War in 1914, came an abnormally large demand by the belligerent nations for American munitions, and other manufactured goods. Existing establishments were enlarged and new ones were created in response to demands for increased production.

The War stimulated the demand for goods, and therefore for labor, and at the same time decreased the labor supply. The labor shortage became acute soon after the United States entered the War in 1917, and enlistment withdrew hundreds of thousands of men from Northern industries. An unprecedented demand for Negro workers was the result. The migration from the South was mainly a response to the call of larger opportunities and higher wages in the North.

The late Booker T. Washington once said:"the South offers to the Negro an opportunity of making a dollar without spending it; while the North gives him the opportunity of spending a dollar without making it." Unfortunately this saying applies with particular force at present to Boston. Whereas, Detroit, Chicago, New York and even Philadelphia, have been extending opportunities in industry to Negroes, until it can be said of Chicago by an expert of the United States Census Bureau that "in Chicago, Negroes are represented by large or small numbers in nearly all of the principal occupations." Boston, in spite of its traditions, has lagged behind and has closed her industrial doors to Negroes.

Mr. John M. Daniels published the results of an individual study which he made of Negroes in Boston in which he notes that Negroes found it from 2 to 100 times harder to find employment than white working men, and too, they must do better work than the whites in order to secure advancement in the occupations in which they find employment.

majority of them are not given an opportunity to work except in the most poorly paid occupations.

Aroused over the serious unemployment crisis which semms to exist always with Negro workers in Boston, the Herald says: "That large numbers of Negroes have come North in consequence of industrial shift caused by the war is well known. What is not so well known is that the North is not making use of this economic asset as might be expected. Many Negroes today are able to qualify for skilled employment- but they apply in vain for jobs. Massachusetts, devoted as many of our most eminent citizens have been to the cause of Negro education and civil rights, does no more than other Northern States and much less than some."#

Mr. Allen, the secretary of the Boston Urban League for improvement of conditions among Negroes, said there is a case on his record where a young woman, a Boston h high school graduate, was called 35 times; another case of a colored applicant who has been called 19 times and each time turned down. These conditions are existing at the present time in Boston. They tell us that the labor unions are open to Negro workers, and that there is no discrimination; but that in this respect practice does not jibe with theory. Many locals debar in their by-laws. Others obey an unwritten law.

1#Release,"Has Boston Gone Back On the Negro?
2#Ibid " " " " " " "
819 Camden Street, Boston.

The policy of excluding from employment those who are industrially qualified is one which, to say the least, must have a bad economic reaction. Whatever the cause may be for this widespread denial of opportunity to Negro workers, it is leading to a shameful lessening of opportunity for a great many worthy and capable people.

b. The Negro Workers in New York.

Of all the cities in the North, it can be truly said that New York is the pioneering city in industrial democracy for Negro workers. This must not be taken to mean that Negro are sharing to the same extent and on the same basis the industrial opportunities with all other working groups. This is not the case. But it is true, both from the point of view of industrial opportunities and division of labor, that this city stands foremost among the metropolitan cities in America today. Nevertheless, Negro workers seeking employment, even in New York, must face the cankered traditions centuries old built up upon racial dogma, founded upon beliefs long upset. Thus as one observer writes:

> "In work requiring a period of apprenticeship Negroes are rarely employed. This limits the skilled workers and the number of Negroes eligible on the basis for membership in certain trades. In work requring supervision over white worers they are rarely employed, tough there are a few striking exceptions. In skilled work requiring membership in unions they are employed only in small numbers, and membership is rarely encouraged unless the union is threatened."#

Shortly after labor unions became active throughout the country Negro artisans threatened to disappear. In 1910 there were about 268 Negro carpenters in New York City. But in 1920 the number had increased to 737. Chauffeurs who had numbered 490 in 1910 were 2,1995 in

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Johnson, C.S. "Survey" P. 643, March 1, 1929.

1920. Ten years ago there were no known clothing workers, but now there are over 6,000. The same applies to workers in the textile industry who numbered in the last count 2,685. Electricians, machinists and muscians have increased over a hundred per cent. The number of shoemakers jumped from 249 to 1,076, mechanics from practically none to 462 and real estate agents from 89 to 247. This large increase in the various trades and professions enumerated, indicate the gradual drift of Negro workers from the domestic and personal service jobs to the industrial occupations made possible by labor shortage during the World War.

3. Extent of Negro's Training After the Civil War.

Fifty years ago, most of the Negro workers were unskilled laborers on the farms and in the homes of the South. Of the 4,000,000 slaves who were freed, there were approximately, 3,000,000 ten years of age and over, and most of these were engaged in unskilled labor as agricultural workers and domestic service. Very nearly 2,000,000 were workers on the farms of the South, and most of the others were workers in the households of the South. Those were unskilled workers.

As one writer puts it:"there were indeed, a few Negroes in the South who were engaged in mechanical pursuits, such as carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, etc; but these constituted a small percentage. And judged by our standards of the present day, one would be inclined to think that the degree of their skill would fall far below that required for successful competition with present day artisans."# For example, most of the carpenters could not read and write, and hence built "by guess" rather than from plans.

In the North 250,000 Negroes were practically all unskilled laborers, with few notable exceptions here and there. Today however, the Negro has invaded the North, not only as farm laborer and domestic

"Amer. Academy of Political and Social Science."P.19 (Vol. XLIX, # 138. September, 1913).

servants, but also as laborers in public works. The Negro has furnished, under a wage system, the bulk of the unskilled labor for the farms of the South. For the past fifty years, by far the largest portion of the South's greatest product- cotton, has been grown by the Negro laborer, while its railroads and streets, its sewers and water works have been constructed by Negroes.

c. The Negro Workers in Pittsburgh.

In the city proper, there are 47,000 to 50,000 colored people, but industrially the city of Pittsburgh is the center of a large area, said to have a Negro population of 85,000 and in this respect, exceeded in the North only by New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Saint Louis industrial districts. Concerning employment opportunities for Negroes Mr. Hill says:

"Pittsburgh has been the hot bed of many labor disputes in coal and steel, and it is in these industries that Negro workers have shown marked advances. Thus one coal company employs 5,000 Negro workers out of a total of 9,000. Whereas in 1924 the number was 600 out of a total of 11,500; and the Negro steel workers are one-fifth of the total shop employees in that industry."#

In the matter of the employment of colored teachers the following is suggestive:

" Despite the commanding population, it is significant that it is the only municipality in the entire country, with probably one exception, with a population in excess of 10,000 Negroes that does not have a single colored teacher on its staff."#

The most frequent objection to the employment of colored people is the fear of interference with business because of the opposition of white employees or the white public.

It is said of one employer, the owner of a large book store, who has in his employ a very industrious colored girl, when asked if an opportunity

Hill, J.A; "Opportunity" P.23, Vol.VII, No.I Jan. 1929.

1. The Right Question to Ask.

came to send her to another department would he permit her to go, he replied no," she has made herself so indispensable in this department that we could not get along without her." This, he suggested, was the kind of proficiency which should be demonstrated by colored employees.

This young woman is a stock girl. It is her duty to dust and tidy up the book shelves. She has learned the names of the books and where they belong and is frequently called upon by clerks to locate them. When asked if she would be given an opportunity to sell books in the event that a clerk was need, this manager replied,"she did not have a selling personality." He admitted, however, even if she did, "it would still be a question about her employment in this respect."

Generally speaking, Negroes find employment opportunities more encouraging in Pittsburgh than in some other larger cities. They get steady employment, except in times of depressions, when all men find it rather difficult to get suitable employment. Nevertheless, their greatest strongholds are in the steel plants, mining industries, and other such vocations in which competition is not so keen.

That the Negro has gained in the skilled trades and professions there is little room for doubt. For example, the annual report for 1917 of the Chicago Urban League for the improvement of conditions among Negroes said: "There is a steady demand for Negro laborers in and around Chicago." The employment office of this one organization placed 1,792 persons in twelve months ending October 31, 1917. "Occassionally", says the report,"we have calls for stenographers, clerks, waitresses, hotel maids, power machine operators, shipping clerks, porters, skilled and semi-skilled workmen in establishment and some times, in industries which had previously denied Negroes employment."#

Another writer, speaking of the improvements Negroes have made, enumerates eight ways in which he thinks they have made notable progress:

"1. The race, fifty years ago, largely unskilled, has developed more than a million skilled and semi-skilled workers, business and professional men and women.

2. The standards of the skilled worker himself, have been raised.

3. The unskilled worker has adapted himself to a wage system, as against the system of slavery.

4. The average intelligence of the unskilled worker has been greatly raised.

#Amer. Acad. of Political and Social Science. P. 23 (September, 1913, Volume XLIX, No. 138)

5. Unskilled labor has become more reliable.

6. Negro labor has survived the competition of the immigrant.

7. Unskilled Negro labor has migrated largely to the larger cities.

8. Unskilled labor, has to some extent, been the foundation upon which Negro businesses, the Negro Church and secret societies have grown."#

These are a few of the instances in which Negroes have made notable advancement in the various trades and professions since their emancipation from a system of slavery. A more detailed discussion of the various trades and professions in which they are engaged at present will be given in another section of this paper.

II Occupational Distribution of Negro Workers.

In 1910, seventy-one per cent of the American Negroes ten years of age and over were gainfully employed. About half of these were at work on the farms; the rest were distributed through hundreds of occupations and trades. Among them were 86,380 railroad workers, including 355 engineers, 5,180 firemen, 120 conductors, 4719 brakesmen and 987 foremen.

Among the 2,500,000 Negroes in industry are found auto mechanics, bakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, building contractors, butchers, cabinet makers, coppersmiths, decorators, dyers, electricians, electrotypers, engravers, express messengers, furnace men, glass blowers, jewelers, lumbermen, leather workers, laundry workers, machinists, mail clerks, masons, miners, mill wrights, moulders, plumbers, plasterers, painters, paper hangers, shoemakers, piano tuners, roofers, wagon makers, etc; at great length.

Of Negro miners alone there are 61,000. In recent years there has been a rapid increase in the number of Negroes in the various industries. "In the beginning, Negroes to a very great extent, did the rougher and cruder work. The general tendency however, for the Negro in industry, appears to be upward. The

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Eleazer, R.B; "America's Tenth Man." P. 10 Published by the Interracial Commission, 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Georgia. Very useful for an abbreviated account of the Negro's progress, their part in the making of the country, and recommendations for better race relations.

1920 census report 322,249 Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. In 1910 the number of Negroes in the industries was 406,582. In 1920 the number was 566,680. The number of Negroes employed in the textile industry in 1900 was 2,949. In 1910 the number was 11,333, an increase of 283 per cent. In 1920 the number was 24,734, an increase from 1910 of 118 per cent."#

In the matter of occupational distribution, Mr. Charles S. Johnson of the National Urban League says:

"Sixty per cent of the Negro population over ten years of age, male and female, are working; eighty-one per cent of the men and thrity-nine per cent of the women. Over two millions of these workers are farmers, and more than a million are domestic and personal service workers. Together these two occupation of Negroes, compared with thrity-four per cent-which is the normal distribution."#

Of the Negro farm population, 57.5 per cent are laborers, 32.4 per cent are tenants, and 10.1 per cent are owners. There has been a decrease in the number of Negro owners and renters. Impending introduction of cotton picking machinery foreshadows a chronic unemployment problem. The largest industrial group of Negroes are at present in the following lines, according to Mr. Johnson's estimates:

"Laborers: building trades and helpers, 150,000; lumber, 107,000; iron and steel, 106,000; other industries 86,000; food, 28,000; textile, 20,000; tobacco,22,000; clay and brickyards,20,000;

"Negro Year Book." P. 362.

fertilizer factories, 10,000; other metal industries, 4,000; paper and pulp, 3,000; taners, 2,500; painting, 1200; clothing, 1,400; total, 561,000. These unskilled laborers constitute 63 per cent of all Negroes in the manufacturing industries."#

Of the skilled workers the distribution among them may be divided as follows:

" Carpenters, 34,000m bricklayers, 11,000; mechanics, 10,000; merchants, 10,000; moulders, 7,000; painters,9,000; plasterers, 7,000; tailors, 7,000; total, 95,000. These constitute 10 per cent of all Negroes in the manufacturing industries. The rest are scattered through other different occupations under this head. This gives some idea of the small percentage of Negro wage earners employed in skilled and semi-skilled occupations. It will be seen that 63 per cent of the wage earners of the race are employed in unskilled labor."#

Of the semi-skilled workers Mr. Johnson adds:
"

"Chemical plants, principally fertilizer works, 2,200; cigar and tobacco plants, 24,000; brick and clay making, 3,200; food (principally slaughter houses), 15,000; iron and steel, 24,000; lumber, 10,000; textile, 4,000; others, 2,500; total, 107,400. These constitute 13 per cent of all Negroes in Manufacturing industries."#

Thomas, J.O; "National Conference of Social Work."P.459

III Negro Migration to the North.

In 1870 the total number of Negroes living in the North was 452,818, but of these 118,071 were in the state of Missouri, which had been a slave state. The northern state with the next largest number of Negroes was Pennsylvania with 65,294; Ohio came next with 63,213; then New York,with 52,081; New Jersey, with 30,658; Illinois, with 28,762; Indiana, with 24,560; and Kansas, with 17,108. No other state has as many as 15,000.

In 1920 there were 1,472,309 Negroes in the North as compared with 452,818 in 1870; and the northern states having the largest number of Negroes was Pennsylvania, with 284,568. New York came next with 194,493, Ohio had 186,187, and Illinois 182,724; then came Missouri with 178,241 and New Jersey with 117,132.

No effort will be made to trace this migration of Negroes from the smaller districts of the South to the larger cities because that problem lies outside the scope of this study. The most that can be done is to trace the more recent migration of Negroes from the southern to the northern states immediately preceeding, during and after the World War.

Hill, J.A; "Recent Northward Migration." P.4
(United States Bureau of Labor, Office of the Secretary)

A. Recent Northward Migration.

The World War practically stopped foreign immigration to the United States. At the same time there were called to the colors of the nations engaged in the conflict hundreds of thousands of foreigners residing in this country. These two causes and the growing demands for war industries made a serious labor shortage in the north. To meet this contingency, the labor supply of the South, mainly Negro, was drawn upon. This was the beginning of the largest migration of Negroes that has ever taken place in the United States.

The migration of the past eight or ten years, while it may be considered as one movement, has two important phases; that of 1916-1920 and that of 1922-1924. The first of these really began in 1915, reached its climax in 1917, and continued at a decreasing rate up to 1920 when, because of economic depression, it almost ceased.

Any numerical estimate concerning the Negro migration to the northern cities must be based on such scanty data as to have no scientific value or accuracy. Estimates made at the time of the number of Negroes who went North, according to the "Southern

Workmen", ranged from 150,000 to 1,000,000. The Census showed, however, that in spite of the great movement of Negroes to the North during the previous years(1916-1924), the number of Negroes from the South living in the North had increased in the decade 1910-1920 by only 330,260.

Estimates of the number who have migrated in the past three years vary from 100,00 to 500,000. As a matter of fact, many Negroes who went North in 1922-1924 were persons who had already been North and had returned to the South during the period of economic depression. And so, it is probable that during the past ten years, several hundred thousands Negroes have moved from the South and back again.

"Southern Workmen" May, 1924.

B. Causes of Negro Migration to the North.

The more one learns of the migration of Negroes to the North from the southern states the more convinced he must become of the great variety of conditions and causes which led to the movement; of the great variety of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which the movement caused both in the South and North, even among the migrants themselves. And yet, great as is the variety in in the actual facts, still greater is the opinion concerning the facts. Whether this movement has resulted in the desired advancement which the migrants sought is quite besides the issue here. It may or may not be a step toward the attainment of better opportunities, but it is a most interesting effort in this direction. Thus as one writer observes:

"It would be highly unscientific to attempt to group the causes uniformly in the various sections from which Negroes migrated. There are almost as many causes as localities.However, the causes may be styled as general dissatisfaction with surrounding conditions, ravages of the boll-weevil, change of crop system, low wages, floods, poor houses on plantation, poor school facilities, the existence of peonage, unsatisfactory crop settlement, rough treatment, cruelty in the courts, lynching, desire for travel, friends in the North,etc.#

"Negro Migration in 1917-1918. P.8

All of these have been mentioned, and doubtless each cause mentioned has had its influence in the individual cases. A detailed discussion of these causes will be undertaken and an effort will be made to show in what particular they have influenced migration from the various sections. Doubtless the spectacular part of the migration, the movement of large numbers at the same time, was due to the labor agents' agitation, and too, in many localities, to the inability of the Negroes to succeed at their chosen work.

1. Economic:

It is now quite generally recognized and agreed upon that the chief causes of the migration were economic. Cotton is the foundation of the economic structure of the South, so far as it relates to the Negro. The ravages of the boll-weevil since 1916 has extended over the entire South east of the Mississippi. These unsettled farming conditions have greatly effected the Negro tenant-farmers. From this situation they had one of two alternatives: one, to increase their skill as farmers to make a living under boll-weevil conditions, or accept the high wages which industry offered in the North. The result was that many thousands chose the second alternative. Concerning the causes of Negro-migration Mr. Munroe N.Work says:

"Perhaps the most important cause was the generally low wages paid to Negro laborers in the South. Low wages are among the reasons most often given by the migrants themselves. Although there is a tendency to raise the wages paid to Negro workers in the South, the wages paid in the North are still from five to ten times higher. Wages in the cotton sections of the South for unskilled workers range from $1 to $3 per day. In Pittsburgh district Negroes are paid from $3 to $8 per day; in Detroit they receive an average of from $3.50 to $10.00 per day."#

a. Better Wages in the North.

While economic causes may be considered as primary, there are other important causes to be noted. As will be seen in a statement listed by a state-wide conference of Georgia leaders chief among the reasons for the migration were:

"1. Lack of credit facilities for Negro farmers;

2. Low wages for farm labor;

3. Poor housing conditions, both in the rural section and in the cities.

4. Bad working conditions on the plantations managed by overseers in the absence of owners;

5. Lack of educational facilities for Negro children;

6. Poor accomodations for Negroes while traveling;

7. Inequality of enforcement laws;

8. Unfair labor contracts;

9. Mob violence."#

All over the South today the Negro is the victim of a double economic standard. One wage is paid to the Negro worker for doing the type of work for

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Work,M.N; Negro Year Book." P. 8.

which another is paid the white worker. The United States department of Labor recently issued a bulletin of "Women in Industry," in which it showed that for Negro women the median wage was $6.95 per week; for white women $11.10. In Norfolk, Virginia, the minimum salary for white teachers is $1,000 per year in the elementary schools, and the maximum salary for Negroes is $1,000 per year. Discussing this inequality in wages, Mr. Thomas says:

"As a Negro teacher and wage earner goes to the market, dry-goods store, grocery store, or what-not, he finds the prices uniform for all people, regardless of race, and he is expected to make his $6.95 buy as much health, comfort, and social well-being as the white wage earners' $11.10. Because the Negro is so effectively disfranchised in most of the communities of the South, he cannot rely upon the ballot to secure for him a voters' consideration and protection in industry; he is therefore limited to a spiritual appeal for the justice, equity, and for fair dealing that he is to receive at the hands of the majority group."#

A study of migration, wages, ect; conducted by Dr. George E. Haynes for the United States Bureau of Labor in Mississippi, says:

"As compared with the steady rise in wages which has occurred in all branches of labor since the beginning of the European war, wages for the farm labor in the South have advanced but little. The price paid for labor in the twenty-one counties average 50 and 60 cents, and in few instances, $1 as a maximum."#

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1. # Thomas, J.O; "National Conference of So. Work. P. 460
2. # "Negro Migration in 1917-1918." P. 72.

b. The existence of Peonage in the South.

Since the Civil War, or during the period of reconstruction, there has developed in the South a system of debt-slavery, often referred to as peonage. This unfair practice has developed in the South from the system of farming and the laws governing contracts on the one hand, and the operation of the penal and criminal system on the other.

The paternalistic system of agriculture may be a great aid to the Negro who has no money with which to begin his crop. It tides him over until the next year, when he gathers his crops, but in the end, the tenant loses his independence, he is in the debt of another person and is subject to that person's supervision. Describing the great danger in the paternalistic system Mr. Reuter says:

> "Because of poor judgment or crop failure, or other reasons, he may be unable to discharge his obligation and virtually cease to be a free person. Forced labor is tolerated to-day because it is believed in many sections that its only alternative would be an idleness far more demoralizing than the sporadic abuses of compulsion."#

In the South it is widely believed that the Negro population will not work, at least steadily, without the application of some kind of compulsion. And men who will not work steadily, whatever their race may be, are regarded by sober thinking people as a great menace to society. Hence the almost popular approval of a scheme of wages which never leaves the

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Reuter, E.B; "American Race Problem." P. 238

Negro worker means enough to maintain himself in idleness, of a scheme of tenancy which keeps him perpetually chained up with debt, and of an application of the vagrancy laws which make it hazardous for a Negro workman to remain long outside the protection of an employer. Despite the wide-spread popularity of peonage in many sections of the South today, the fact remains that this system is both constitutionally and logically unjustifiable. For as one writer says of it:

> "Where the conditions of life have been reasonably fair the Negro has shown himself quite capable of responding to the incentives of free labor. His progress in the accumulation of property has been notable, in spite of the fact that almost everywhere, North as well as South, he has found the dice loaded against him... It has been asserted by many men of Southern origin that the Negro's best friends are the Southern white man. Sentimentally, this is certainly true. Whether they are good friends in any other than a sentimental sense can be put to a simple test. Are they willing to see the Negro make progress toward a genuine economic independence? Will they see that he is not over-charged on his supplies, taxed exorbitant rates of interest, that property he acquires is as secure in his hands as any under the law? In so far as they do these things, they are working toward a state in which such an institution as "a murder plantation will be unthinkable."#

The plain truth is, there is no strong, concerted public opinion on the part of the Southern people against this system of peonage which exists in many sections even to this day.

Johnson, J.E; "The Negro Problem." P. 167cf.

c. Better Educational Opportunities.

The history of Negro education in the United States has been, until recently, largely the story of the planting of schools and colleges in the South by the Northern missionaries, such as the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, the American Missionary Association, etc; at length, and their sustenance and varying success through Northern benovelence. These pioneer teachers were quite commonly regarded by the white Southerners as unwelcomed foreigners, meddlesome, and general trouble-makers, who spoiled good field hands and contented house servants by putting foolish notions into their heads. But as one observer sees it,"in spite of opposition and prejudice, the Yankee teachers held their own, and have done their share in gradually convincing the thoughtful people of the South that the Negro must be educated. More and more the Southern people are learning that ignorance is not a cure for anything: that illiterate Negroes are a menace to their community."#

Although educational advantages are being extended to the Negro children by the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, Slater Fund, and even the public school of the South, there are yet gross

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Johnson, J.E; "The Negro Problem."P. 255

inequalities in the provision for the education of the children of the two races. The amount that goes for the education of the colored children is almost entirely dependent upon the racial sentiment of the white boards in the South. Unfortunately, this sentiment is not always favorable to equal educational opportunities. This is reflected in the following chart of the annual expenditure by races for public school purposes in the different states:

Distribution of School Funds by Races: 1923-24.

	Per cent of		Expenditures	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Alabama---	61.6	38.4	91.0	9.0
Arkansas--	73.0	27.0	83.0	17.0
Delaware---	86.4	13.6	86.0	14.0
Dist.Col--	74.7	25.2	74.0	26.0
Florida---	65.9	34.1	92.0	8.0
Georgia---	58.3	41.7	86.0	14.0
Kentucky--	90.2	9.8	92.0	8.0
Louisana--	61.1	38.9	90.0	10.0
Maryland	83.1	16.9	90.0	10.0
Mississipp	47.7	52.3	80.0	20.0
North Car.	69.7	29.8	88.0	12.0
Oklahoma--	89.8	7.4	95.0	5.0
S.Carolina	48.6	51.4	89.0	11.0
Tennesee--	80.7	19.3	88.0	12.0
Texas-----	84.1	15.9	88.0	12.0
Virginia--	70.1	29.9	89.0	11.0
W.Virginia	94.1	5.9	95.0	5.0 "#

Reuter, E.B; "American Race Problem P.271cf.

The growing sentiment in favor of better educational opportunities in the South for Negroes cannot be doubted by anyone who is acquainted with previous educational advantages. This is reflected in the annual appropiations for the state-supported and private schools, partially supported by the states. There is a growing consciousness on the part of the public toward the education of the Negro children on term equal with white children. As evidence of this increasing friendliness toward Negro education the following from the Jackson Daily New gives testimony:

"The Negro is not being given a square deal in the matter of education. In the majority of our rural districts, especially the schools for Negro children, are miserable makeshifts, the teacher is often more ignorant than his pupil, little or nothing is allowed for their support, and the children derive no benefit whatever.

"A Negro father, if he is honest, hard working, and industrious, has the same ambitions for his children that a white man possesses. He wants to see his offspring receive an education in order that they may be properly equipped for the battle of life. But they are not getting this. Everybody who is familiar with educational affairs in Mississippi well knows this to be the case. And it forms one of the chief reasons why thrifty, industrious, Negroes who want to get ahead in the world, who have a desire to live decently, are following the lure of higher wages and better living conditions and moving to the northern states. The ugly fact remains that we have not been doing our duty by the Negro, and until we do there is no reason to hope for a better settlement of our industrial conditions. The Negro will continue to desert our farms, leaving thousands of fertile acreas untilled, and bring about a business stagnation in some sections from which we may never recover."#

Negro Migration in 1916-1917." P. 113.

2. Social:

a. Better Housing Conditions.

No matter waht may be one's ideals, his affiliations, politically, socially or otherwise, his earning power or buying power has much to do with the type of house and home surroundings in which he will live. In a larger measure than is true of any other group in America, the Negro business and professional man has to depend upon the members of his own group for the support of his business and profession. Therefore any change in the economic status of the Negro wage earner is immediately reflected through a cross section of his group life. Those who have small incomes are successfully segregated into an insignificant, neglected part of the city. Poor lightning, inadequate water-supply, and periodical police protection characterize the average Negro segregated area. The conditions revealed by a recent survey made in Tampa, Florida, with respect to the housing conditions of Negroes may be accepted as typical of what one might find in every city where any considerable number of Negroes live in the South:

"Seventy-one per cent of the Negroes in this particular city lived in rented quarters; 5,500 out of the total population of 50,000 were drinking water from surface wells; 3,100 used outside water closets, sharing same with two or more families; 3,000 were

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Thomas, J.O; "National Conf. of Social Work." P.464cf.

using privies, fifty per cent of which were shared by two or more families; 1,100 had no garbage receptacles; 3,500 had no garbage disposal service. This group of houses are particularly unsightly, to say nothing of unhealthful, practically every one leaks, the porch roofs fail even to stop the sunshine; a cluster of eight chronically stopped up outside water closets are available. Nine houses have no cans for garbage; four have no boxes, while eight have no receptacles at all. Fourteen families reported that garbage was collected weekly, while seven said it was never collected. Several of the inhabitants reported that they disposed of garbage by burying it. Two surface wells, one out of commission, provide water for 22 families; 135 people use this well, including 23 lodgers, and 37 children under ten years of age."#

This gives a fairly good understanding why the industrious, respectable Negro father is leaving the South in search for better conditions in order that his family and children might enjoy some of the normal benefits of a normal life. While it is true that these conditions among Negroes are prevalent in the South, it is also true that in the North, Negroes find many such conditions, especially in the industrial areas. While in the South the negro faces segregation in almost every avenue, in the North his greatest problems consist of poor housing conditions. On this pont the executive secretary of the National Urban League says:

"Many of the problems of the northern city Negro are involved in the question of housing. High rent and insanitation make for bad morals and bad health. If the rent paid is in excess of one-fifth of the noral family, it is usually necessary for lodgers to be introduced into family life. Immediately the family losses its status. In proportion to the excessive rent ratio must the number of lodger be increased; and if the lodgers' population reach a proportion as large as 33-3 per cent of the whole population, as it has been in the Harlem section of New York; and frantic effort are made to increase income from lodgers, many questionable characters are introduced into the family life.

#National Conference of Social Work. P. 461cf.

The evil resulting is well known: marital infidelity, illegitimacy, unmarried mothers, street soliciting and juvenile delinquency."#

The housing problem among Negroes in cities has always been a serious one. Because of wide-spread resentment of white citizens to live in Negro neighborhoods, the problem become all the more serious when Negroes move into neighoorhoods inhabited by whites exclusively. On this score Mr. Woofter says:

"Many withe persons resent Negro intrusion into a neighborhood on the grounds that the move is made merely because of the desire of the Negroes to live among white people. The strength of economic and social cohesion among the colored people, however, indicates that this is not true. The preference is given to home sites near the centers of their social, economic and religious life; but except in cases of occassional individuals they are driven from these sections by neglect and exploitation of such neighborhoods, by lack of sanitation, and poor police protection. The man with ambition naturally tries to find a better place for his home."#

b. Better hospital accomodations.

The Negro health in the South is not as good today, according to figures given to the Georgia Board of Health of the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association, as it has been in recent years. "The death rate among whites in Fulton (Atlanta) seems to be falling, but there are many more deaths among Negroes", continues the report.

A prominent Atlanta doctor who is an official of the National Negro Medical Association

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#See Report of the Atlanta Interracial Commission, for 1927. (409 Palmer Building,Atlanta, Georgia).

states that there has been a considerable increase in sickness among Negroes in Georgia during the last six months over the same period last year (1926). Negro doctors are unable to collect pay for treatment; many Negroes send for the doctor only as a last resort, and so Negro doctors are considering moving to northern centers, where they think the Negroes are enjoying a better financial income and the industrial well-being of the race is more stable. In the North, unlike the South, the Negroes who migrate, find that not only in the matter of wages but also in health, they have made greater improvements than they would have otherwise made had they remained in the South. Nevertheless, in the field of health, decided progress has been made by the race as a whole, South as well as North. The Interracial Commission reports three notable instances in which progress has been made. They are:

> "The General Assembly of Georgia without opposition increased its health appropiations sufficiently to provide for the care of the Negro patients in the state Sanitarium for tuberculosis, Walker County, Texas, rural county with a large Negro population, has just provided a new hospital with equal facilities for Negro and white physicians, open alike to Negro and white patients.
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> "The city of Houston, also, has a new hospital for Negroes, built by private philanthropy and public appropiation, but supported by the city and open without discrimination to Negro physicians. These two hospitals are the beginning of hospitalization among Negroes which must ultimately provide the necessary training now so meagerly available for Negro physicians."#

#"The Tenth Man." Atlanta Interracial Commission, P.5 (409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Georgia).

3. Political:

Another serious cause for dissatisfaction on the part of the Negro is the widespread lawlessness, mob-violence and injustices which seem to have public sanction in many sections today. One of the most sensational statements of the grievances of Negroes in the South was published in connection with a conference of white citizens of Georgia, called by the governor to consider numerous outbreaks of lawlessness in the state. In this pamphlet, he listed 135 cases of alleged mistreatment of Negroes, some of them the most brutal ever recorded anywhere yet in America. With the exception of one, all these cases had been brought to the attention of the governor by white Georgians, and he was of the opinion that the number could be multiplied many times.

It is not surprising therefore, when the World War gave Negroes their opportunity, they left these sections and went North in large numbers. The annual report of the Interracial Commission for 1927 furnishes some interesting information on this phase of the Negro life in the South:

"The lynching record of Tuskegee Institute follows: Arkansas, 3, Kentucky, 1, Louisana, 1, Mississippi, 7, Missouri,1, Tennesee, 2, Texas,1, a total of 16. Compared with the 30 lynchings of 1926 the decrease is encouraging. The lynching area also, has been limited. This is due to the fact that there has been a persistent and aggressive public opinion against it, except in Mississippi. In most states sheriffs and other officers in response to public opinion, are becoming more determined and intelligent in opposing mob-violence....There seems to have been an increasing number of floggings in 1927."#

#Race Relations for 1927." Atlanta Interracial Commiss.

A diagram of the number of lynchings since 1885 to 1924 will show the trend of lynching during that period.

Year	Whites	Negroes	Total
1885	106	78	184
1886	67	71	138
1887	42	80	122
1888	47	92	142
1889	81	95	176
1890	37	90	127
1891	71	121	192
1892	100	155	255
1893	46	154	200
1894	56	134	190
1895	59	112	171
1896	51	80	131
1897	44	122	166
1898	25	102	127
1899	23	84	107
1900	8	107	115
1901	28	107	135
1902	10	86	96
1903	18	86	104
1904	4	83	87
1905	5	61	66
1906	8	64	72
1907	3	60	72
1908	7	93	100
1909	14	73	87
1910	9	65	74
1911	8	63	71
1912	4	60	64
1913	1	51	52
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	2	36	38
1918	4	60	64
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	52	58
1923	4	29	33
1924		16	16

Reuter, E.B; "American Race Problem. "P. 372 cf.

The list of offenses charged against the Negroes who have been lynched include, according to Mr. Reuter, in this period:

"Jilting a girl, insulting women, writing a letter to a white woman, asking a white woman in marriage, elopment with a white girl, paying attention to a white girl, slander, wife-beating, circulating slander or scanals,voodooism, conjuring, self-defense, resisting assault, resisting arrest, for having threatened political exposure, to prevent his giving evidence, testifying for one of his own race, cutting levees, poisoning wells, poisoning horses, writing insulting letters, insults, supposed offenses, incendiary language, slapping a child, quarrelling, making threats, being troublesome, gambling, violation of contracts, quarrel over profit-sharing, throwing stones, forcing white boy to commit a crime, rioting, strike rioting, bad reputation, suing white people, wrong man lynched, and so on."#

From the diagram presented above, it is evident that lynching in the United States is on the decrease. Although in some sections such as Mississippi, there is little progress in the abolition of this system of punishment. For instance, in the case of the recent lynching in that state, the governor is reported as saying, "I have neither the time not money to investigate it." His reply was so indifferent as to arouse the Boston Herald to say:

"When he says he has neither the time nor money to investigate 2,000 people who had a hand in the torturing and lynching of a Negro kidnapper and murderer, Gov. Bilbo of Mississippi understates the problem and underrates the intelligence of the American public. It is not a handful of 2,000 whom the national opinion will indict for the outrage but the state itself. The town and county where the Negro came to his death, the identity his lynchers, and the nature of his crime do not go into the record which the national conscience files away. The blot is on the state itself."#

1.#Reuter, E.B; "American Race Problem." P. 368
2.#Boston Herald, January 3, 1929.

Another example of the awakened public sentiment against the unfair treatment of the Negro is expressed by the Montgomery Advertiser:

"That principle of eternal justice which bids the stronger protect the weak, makes it our duty to protect the Negro in all his legal, industrial and social rights. We should see that he has equal and exact justice in the courst, that the laws bear alike on the black and white, and that he be paid for his labours just as the white man is paid, and that no advantage be taken of his ignorance and credulity."#

And the task is a simple and easy one. The Courts and juries should know no difference between whites and blacks when a question of right and justice is up for settlement. The man who employs a Negro to work for him should deal as fairly with him as he deals with a white man. The life of a Negro should be as sacred as the life of a white man. This is the kind of justice the Negro seeks, and the kind he should have. Despite the favorable sentiments expressed through the editorial section of the southern papers from time to time there is considerable exploitation of the Negro people both north and south. As example of this the following is suggestive:

"No group in the nation has paid a heavier toll to corrupt municipal politics than the Negro. He has paid it not only in bad housing, inferior schools, poor lightning, paving and policing. He has, besides, been used as a tool in elections and as a lightning rod to carry off angers for which he was not in the remotest degree responsible."#

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1. #Speer,R.E; "Race and Race Relation."P. 362
2. #Seligman,H.J;"The Negro Faces America." P.155.

d. Race Discrimination in the South.

The conditions of life that the Negroes have faced in America since their emancipation have been in the highest degree conducive to a nationalistic spirit. At every point in their social evaluation they have met the sternest opposition and have been reminded by persistent discrimination that they are a group set apart from other races. Concerning this discrimination Mr. Reuter says:

"The popular white policy and practice have been to treat all Negroes categorically, to refuse to accept, even the most exceptional persons on the basis of personality and individual worth.

"Not only has the discrimination tended to include all individual of the race, it has extended to every phase of the racial life and isolated them as completely as possible from the cultural and social contacts. They have in general been excluded from white residential areas and forced to live in segregated and generally neglected and undesirable sections. Their children have been forced in to separate schools, everywhere they have met unequal treatment before the law, and unequal protection from the law. The police have generally been indiscriminating and the courts severe. In times of racial disorders the police and military powers have been used to suppress the Negroes rathern than to restore and maintain order. Their women have generally been outside the protection of the protection.....They have lived always in an atmosphere of fear and seldom, if ever, wholly free from the possibility of personal mistreatment."#

Reuter, E.B; "American Race Problem." P. 399.

b. Disfranchisement of the Negro in the South.

There are people in the South who insist that the franchise is something which should forever be kept out of the power of the Negro. They claim that the Negroes do not need the ballot. By force and fraud Negroes for the most part, have been denied the ballot and made an issue rather than a factor in the political life of the nation- especially in the South. Repeatedly, campaigns have been made to turn, regardless of the issues, upon the racial attitudes of the candidates. President Coolidge said concerning the exploitation of the Negro for political ends:

"Exploiting the Negro problems for political ends is being abandoned and their protection is being increased by those states in which their percentage of population is largest. Every encouragement should be extended for the development of the race. The colored people have been the victims of the crime of lynching, which has in late years somewhat decreased. Some parts of the South already have wholesome laws for its restraint.#

Another writer says of the disfranchisement of the Negro people in the South:

"If disfranchisement of the Negro by the South could settle permanently the Negro question I think that the action of that section would find its justification in its acheivement.... But can disfranchisement of the Negro settle the Negro problem? First, can it do so for the Negro? Second, can it do so for the South? Third, can it do so for the nation? I do not think it can do so for the Negro, or for the South, or for the rest of the nation. And unless disfranchisement settles it in its three-fold aspects, it will not settle it in such a way as to stay settled long...For what is bad for the Negro today will be found still worse for the South.#

Johnson, J.E; "The Negro Problem." P.232
Coolidge,C; Quoted by "Current History, January,1929.

So far as the Negro is concerned then, it will not settle his problem to disfranchise him. In fact it will only serve to make it more aggravated. For as Mr. Grimke says of it:

"The Negro has tasted freedom, he has tasted manhood rights, he has tasted civil and political equality. He knows that his freedom, his American citizenship, his right to vote, have been written into the constitution of the United States, and written there in three large amendments. He knows more: he knows that he himself has written his title to those rights with his blood in the history of the country in four wars, and he is of the firm belief that his title to them is a perfect one."#

"No party, no section, no state, therefore, can deprive him of these rights without leaving in his mind a bitter sense of wrong, of being cheated of what belongs to him, cheated in defiance of law, of the supreme courts of the land, and in spite of his fairer treatment at the hands of his countrymen.#

Moorfield Storey says of the man without a vote:

"The politician, whether he holds executive office or sit in legislatures, knows, respects and fears the labor vote; the temperance vote; the soldier's vote; the suffrage vote; but they have no thought to spare on any class that has no vote. The non-voters are defenseless, their needs are not considered, their rights are not defended, and no body of the tax-payers can remain long in this position."#

C. Efforts to Check the Migration From the South.

The departure of the first Negroes elicited no concern from the southern whites. It was assumed that their action was merely an expression of the Negro's love for travel, and that they would soon return. When, however, they did not return and hosts of others followed, the white South became deeply concerned and endeavored to check the movement. Throughout the exodus drastic legislation and force were employed. In Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Georgia, laws were passed in an effort to suppress the activities of labor agents. They were arrested and heavily fined, and in some instances, were debarred altogether.

Another method of checking the migration was propaganda. This was carried on mainly through the white newspapers. "Numerous items were published about the hard times," says Dr. Work "Negroes were having in the North and the anxiety of many to return South." It was stated that they were imposed upon in the North and that from a financial point of view they were better off in the South; that they could not stand the cold weather in the North; that northerners do not understand Negroes; that there is more prejudice in the North; that Negroes are attacked in the North just because they are Negroes, while in the South only the individual is punished; that, in the North, Negroes are hired only as a last resort and are the first ones fired; that the best thing for the Negroes is to re-

turn South where they can get steady jobs and can make a satisfactory living for themselves and their families all of the time.

The most effective and serious method employed by the South to check the migration has been the promise of better treatment to the Negro. Along with this disposition to give the Negro better treatment, there has been an effort to find out just how Negroes feel and think about the situation and what would advise to be done to better conditions so that they will be more contented. An article in the Baltimore Manufacturer's Record sets forth the more general view of the South with respect to how the Negro migration movement can be met. The substance of this statement is that the South cannot hold its Negro population under the condition which existed in the past. It must offer as good inducements as the North offers. It is not enough to say that the South is the best place for the Negro and that he is better treated here than in the North or that his health conditions are better; for, although there is some truth in these statements, there is not enough to keep the Negro in the South when he hears the call of other sections. To quote, this article suggests certain things the South should do:

"1. Better homes must be provided on the farms and in the towns and cities of the South. These homes must be far better than have ever been furnished before to the masses of Negroes in the South.

Qouted by the Negro Year Book. P.9

2. Higher wages must be given- wages commensurate with those that are being paid to the Negro in the North- wherever he is working, on the farm or in the factory. The day of low wages is gone and gone forever.

3. The Negro must have the fullest protection from petty arrests by men who get a fee.

4. The white people of the South, whether they regard the Negro from the stand-point of a human being whose welfare they are responsible for, or whether they regard him as an economic asset for the cultivation of land or the handling of factory products, or for other work, must recognize as a whole that this asset must be safe-guarded, protected, paid, dealt with fairly and honestly on the basis of the "Golden Rule" of doing unto the Negro exactly as we would want him to do unto us if circumstances changed and we were in his place."#

As a further means of checking the migration of Negroes from the southern states, the Jackson Daily News makes the following suggestion:

"The Negro exodus is the most serious economic matter that confronts the people of Mississippi today. And is isn't worthwhile to sit around and cuss the labor agents, either. That wont help us the least bit in getting to a proper solution. We may as well face the facts, even when the facts are ugly and very much against us. The plain truth is the white people of Mississippi are not giving the Negro a square deal; and this applies not only to Mississippi, but to all the other states in the South. How can we expect to hold our Negro labor when we are not paying decent wages? Have we any right for abusing the Negro for moving to the northern states, where he is tempted by higher wages, when we are not paying him his worth at home? If you,Mr. White man, believed that you could better financial conditions by moving to some other section of the country, would you lose any time in doing so? That is just what the Negro is doing. We expect our Negro laborer to work for the same wages they were paid four or five years ago, shutting our eyes to the fact that the increased cost of living affects the Negro as well as the white man."#

#Negro Migration in 1916-1917" P. 112

III Organized Labor and the Negro Worker in the North.

The problem of adjustment of the Negro and the white workers in the North, looking at the question from all sides, is a puzzling one. Sound judgment dictates that the interests of labor are one, whether white or black. Just how far the hostile attitude of white working men is due to unreasoned race antipathy, blind and ignorant, and how far it is due to economic competition is probably beyond calculation or guess. That there has been in the past, widespread opposition on the part of white working men to the introduction of Negroes into different industries, accumulated experience leaves no room for doubt. And this hostile attitude seems to increase as the Negroes attempt to rise from the unskilled, poorly paid employments to those requiring skill and thereby offering better pay.

Amicable adjustment between white and black labor under war conditions prevailed. But with the return of normalcy has come also, a serious situation in the ranks of labor. Here is the call for industrial statesmanship for both white and Negro workers. As Dr. George E. Haynes points out:

"Either the white workers may attempt to use their collective power to further prevent the Negro from advancing in the various avenues of industry and thus compel them to use whatever pressure they can command to secure a foot-hold; or the white workers may take the longer look and in a cooperative way,

peaceably welome the Negro and thus aid their introduction into industry in such a way and on such terms as will safe-guard the interests of both. The point of view and temperament of Negro Workers are decidedly favavable toward the latter."#

The question is often asked: what do the Negro workers want in the field of industry? Dr. Haynes also answers this question:

"They want to be on terms of peace with both their employers and their white fellow workers, giving satisfaction to the former and cooperating with latter. They ask of both a man's chance for work for fair wages, shorter hours and other reasonable conditions. They wish that creed and color as well as greed and paternalism be removed from industry.#

The increased tension between the races to which the northward movement contributed had two main determinants: First, recognition by northern industrialists that they must find some source of cheap labor to compensate the stoppage of immigration during the war and that southern Negroes were available for their purposes; second, a realization by white labor unionists that their unions were endangered by an influx of aliens, unorganized, distrustful of labor unions, and therefore difficult and in many cases impossible, for the time, to unionize. As a growing conviction of distrust of white workers to admit Negro workers into their unions, many of the unions in their local rulings denied the Negroes the privilege to join their ranks.

#Haynes, G.E; "Survey" January 4, 1919. P.459

A. Negroes As Strike Breakers

Industry involves the continuous contact of more white and Negroes than any other field. It consequently affords a wide opportunity for the operation of racial misunderstandings and strife. It is also a field in which the lines of economic interests are tightly drawn and so closely watched that any or the least misunderstanding or friction is thereby greatly accentuated. Therefore it would be a serious cause for regret if Negro workers, as a racial group, should continue to lend credence to the general belief that they are successful strike breakers.

The strike breaker is intolerable to the union man. And it cannot be otherwise. No race or class can gain the respect of its fellow workers as long as it allows such an accusation to go unchallenged against them. On this point the Chicago Interracial Commission says:

> Circumstances have frequently made Negroes strike breakers, thus centering upon them as a racial group all the bitterness which the unionist feels toward strike breakers as a class. This tends to increase any existing racial antipathy or to serve as a concrete justification of it. On the other hand, Negroes have often expressed themselves as distrustful of the unions because prejudice in the unions has denied them equal benefits of membership."#

In the field of industry there is strife between Negro and white workers. The previous claim of white workers that Negroes are not able to advance in the various field because of industrial unpreparedness

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1.# Negro in Industry." Chicago Interracial Com. P.404

can no longer be justified. They have successfully invaded most of the trades and professions in which they have been allowed employment. But it is not enough to train the Negro for industry, industry must be opened to him on the basis of justice. In the past it has been the industrial part of the color line that has most impeded the Negro's progress. Unless and until white and black labor recognize the necessity of cooperating with each other in advancing their cause, the perfection which they seek can never be realized.

In a large measure, the distrust which the Negroes hold against the unions is well grounded. They often find that their first opportunity in a new industry come through the eagerness of a strike-bound employer to utilize their labor at wages more than they have previously earned, even if less than the union scale. On this score Mr. Charles S. Johnson, editor of Opportunity, supplied some very interesting information in a recent issue of the Survey:

"One reason for the hostility of white to Negro workers is the fear of them as strike breakers. The fear is warranted, for not only is there a menace to union objectives in the availability of Negro workers, but it has so happened that many of the greatest advances which Negroes have made in industry, many of

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#Johnson, C.S;National Conf. Social Work."P.459.

their first opportunities are due to strikes and their part in breaking them. They were used to break the Stockyard strike, and they have been employed there ever since; they were largely responsible for the steel strike; and they now make up 17 per cent of the steel mill workers; they were used in the great railroad strike of 1922, and about 700 Negroes, mostly skilled, are still employed by one system alone. They are being used at present in the anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania, and in the strike of bakers and Confectionery workers in Chicago. The list could be continued indefinitely.

"Precisely the opposite situation has occurred when Negroes have been inside the unions. In the West Virginia coal strike of 1922 there was the peculiar situation of the mine owners putting their faith of stamina in their Negro membership to hold their positions. As longshoremen they have stayed with their organization in times of conflict, in spite of the fact that Negro strike breakers were used against them. Union officials agree that Negro union men are as faithful to their organization as are white members."#

Whatever may be the cause of the deep-hidden prejudice towards Negroes as strike breakers or otherwise, organized labor will never be able to advance its cause successfully until it takes into consideration all working classes regardless to race, color or political faith. Sentiment and force may help or hinder the rapidity of their advance but in the end their success will depend upon their ability to organize all races and classes of workers into one coherent group for its advancement. A number of facts for which the Negroes themselves are in no wise responsible have operated severely to limit their occupational field and virtually to exclude them from many occupations.

#Johnson, C.S; Survey" January, 1926.

B. Policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Many years ago the American Federation of Labor declared for the thorough organization of all working people without regard to sex, religion, race, politics, or nationality; that many organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have within their membership Negro workmen with all other workers of the trades, and the American Federation of Labor has made and is making every effort within its power for the organization of these men.

The entrance of Negroes into the skilled industries has been consistently and at times bitterly opposed by the local labor unions. The idea has been quite current among white working men that Negroes should be debarred from the ranks of labor wherever their labor seems to compete with that of the white man. Theoretically, they tell us that there is no color line in the American Federation of Labor, and that all working men are welcome to its ranks, but in this respect practice does not jibe with theory. The Federation cannot control the attitude of the individual or affiliated unions, and these separate organizations have in general refused to admit Negroes. Many locals debar the Negro workers, and others obey an unwritten law.

One reason for the obvious handicaps which Negro workers have to face is explained by Mr. Reuter as follows:

"They are seldom employed for positions that entail authority over white workers, and the popular prejudice against them in certain relations prevents the advancement of competent men. Promotions would sometime raise unpleasant social questions. In other cases to advance a competent Negro worker and allow him to occupy a position in which he would be the superior of white workers would antagonize the latter and thus tend to decrease the efficiency of the plant.

"A similiar thing is true in regard to work that implies association on equal footing with white employees: Negroes are rarely employed or advanced to such positions. If the nature of the work is such that the employees must meet the customers in any capacity other than that of menials, the Negro has no chance of employment. Only white people are employed as sales' people, conductors, motormen on street cars, solicitors, and the like when white people are involved. The employer in such cases is merely making a business adjustment to the racial attitudes of the public his business serves."#

From evidence presented herewith, we have found that Negroes are in a dangerous position to themselves and to peaceful relations between the races, whether the issues involve their employers or to undermine wage standards or to break strikes. We cannot help but feel that unnecessary racial bitterness is provoked by such treatment of Negro workers, that racial prejudice is played upon by both parties, and that through such practices injury comes, not alone to Negroes, but to employers and labor organizations as well.

Reuter, E.B; "American Race Problem." P. 242

IV Negro Women in Industry.

During the World War, when there arose a wholesale demand for labor, the opportunity and call came to Negro women to enter the growing army of American women workers.

This entrance of Negro women into industry brought with it many acute economic problems which called forth many perplexing problems for solution. Were they to be used as a Marginal class, merely filling the gaps left opened by the shortage of labor, or were they to have equal and diversified opportunities for employment and promotion open to them? In other words, were they standing the test industrially in the quantity and quality of work which they produced as compared with their white fellow workers? In a study made by the United States Bureau of Labor some interesting information is given:

"Negro women workers have been so largely confined to domestic and personal service for generations that these labors are conceded to be theirs by tradition. In these kinds of work they have been trained and have become experienced. It is to these labors that they have been bound, and more than other women they have been limited in engaging in other forms of gainful occupations."#

And concerning the extent of the number of Negro women employed in the various industries this report says again:

"In 1910, manufacturing and mechanical industries which employed 1,366,959 women employed only 16,835 Negro women. It is significant that of the 16,835 Negro women in industrial occupations 10,672, or 63 per cent, were laborers and semi-skilled operatives in cigar and tobacco factories, and 6,163, or 37 per cent were laborers and not specified in manufacturing."

#United States Dept. of Labor "Negro Women in Indus.B. 5

A. Colored Women As a Permanent Factor in Industry.

Due to the short time Negro women have been engaged in industry no exact prediction is safe as to her future in this field. Answering this question as to the permanency of Negro women in the industrial calling Miss Nellie Swartz says:

"As yet no one can predict with any certainty that the colored woman is in industry to stay. Discussion of a problem which is so dependent upon future circumstances may not be undertaken in any spirit of prophecy. The labor market is changing every day. So long as colored women meet the demands for cheap labor, employers will retain them in preference to better paid white workers. But let a lowered wage scale force these same white workers back into competition with colored, and the issue will depend upon the comparative stability and productive power of the two. The colored are handicapped by prejudice and their own industrial ignorance. They have been in industry too short a period to prove what their place is to be or to have become thoroughly adjusted."#

Colored women have always been compelled to work in large numbers because of the low wages of colored men. It has been estimated that about 76 per cent of the colored families of the South depend upon an income that is made up of the wages of several members of the family. Less than 24 per cent of the colored fathers of the South support their families without assistance from the mothers or other members. They cannot do it; it is a mathematical impossibility. Yet they are blamed for not supporting their families.

"A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker." P. 24
"National Conference of Social Work." P. 471

B. Are the Colored Women Getting a Square Deal?

Many answers have been given to this question but none seem to warrant the facts which Negro women are having to face in the industrial field. On this score the Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania says:

"The colored complain most frequently of the difference in wage scales for white and colored workers, and in many cases their complaints are well grounded. One candy factory, the colored girls are started at $8 and $9, and the white girls at $9 and $10, and the colored are given the harder and more unpleasant work to do.

"The manager of a large lithographing establishment that was greatly in need of labor, stated that the initial wage was $10 a week. But the colored girls who applied for positions there were offered $7. When the employer was questioned concerning the discrepancy in wages paid to white girls he really was not aware of the amount paid to colored girls, although in one department they were doing the same work. He said that he was ready to assure any colored girl that her wages would be rapidly increased if she showed a willingness to stay. And yet one of his colored girls interviewed, started at $7 a week and did not receive a raise until three months later, and then she had to ask for it; another worked five months before her wage was increased to $9. A white girl who started at $10 was given a raise of $1 after two weeks.

"Othe unfair distinctions are said to be made; for instance, they are given the oldest and hardest machines to operate; they are not permitted to do piece work which would increase their earnings; they are not allowed to work after they have earned a certain amount, in one case they have to go down stairs for their material, while the white girls have material brought to them; they have poorer room conditions and unsanitary provisions, and they are discriminated against in the matter of rest rooms."#

Colored Women As Industrial Workers in Phila., P.39
Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania., 1919-20.

1. The Negro Woman Worker in New York City.

The life of the Negro woman worker of New York, is she belongs to the laboring class, differs in some important respects from the life of the white laboring woman. Speaking of the difference between the two groups of women workers Miss Mary White Ovington says:

"The contrast in the lives of the colored and white married women is not more strongly marked than the contrast in the lives of the unmarried daughters and sisters. Unable to enter any pursuit except housework, the unskilled colored girl goes out to service or helps at home with the laundry or sewing. Factory and store are closed to her, and rarely can she take a place among other working girls. Her hours are long, irregular hours of domestic service.

And speaking of the difficulties colored girls must face after prepraing for service Miss Ovington says again:

"Colored women have always been good sewers, and recently they have studied at their trades in some of the best schools from 1904 to 1910. The Manhattan Trade school graduated 34 pupils in dress-making....While the majority of the pupil have taken the courses for their private use, a large minority are entering the business world. They meet repeated difficulties; white girls refuse to work in shops with them, private employers object to their color, but they have, nevertheless, made creditable progress.... Despite her efforts and occassional successes, the colored girl in New York meets severer race prejudice than the colored man, and is more persistently kept from attractive work. She gets the jobs that the white girl does not want. Beyond all people in the city she needs all the encouragement that philanthropy, that human courtesy and respect, that the fellowship of the workers can give- she needs her full status as a woman."#

Ovington, M.W; "Half A Man." P. 55, 68.

2. The Most Urgent Needs for the Negro Women Workers.

One of the most serious problems confronting Negro women today is their inability to secure employment in various pursuits in which they are fitted by environment and native ability, education and training. With the exception of teaching, nursing and sewing, there is practically nothing that a colored woman can do in the United States, no matter how well educated, skillful or prepossessing she may be, nor how great her needs may be.

Better wages to that large group of working women of which the examples given are typical would react very definitely upon industry as well as upon the home and community life. Ultimately the standard of living within these families would be raised and health and efficiency would be safe-guarded.

As it is, the struggle for improvement among these people is a rugged, persistent one. Their homes, many of them, bear marks of misery, poverty and neglect. They have been handicapped, not only by their sex but they have been hindered and hampered by their race as well. But if judged from the depth from which they have come, rather than the heights those blessed with centuries of opportunity have attained, colored women need not hang their heads in shame.

I Negro Labor Organizations.

A. The National Urban League for Improvement Among Negroes.

"Opportunity", a journal of Negro life is published by the National Urban League as its official organ to provide a medium of constructive and dispassionate discussion of the problems growing out of racial contacts.

Any discussion which attempts to review the past and present progress among Negroes and which does not take into consideration the work of the National Urban League would be quite inadequate to a proper understanding of the Negro life in America. With the cooperation of many of the most liberal minded and generous white people, this organization is engaged in a determined fight to present to the public the cause of the Negro workers the country over.

Several years ago this organization was founded to establish more cordial relations among Negro and white workers in the field of industry, to bring about a wider appreciation, both among the white people and Negroes, the real worth of the Negro to America and the necessity for harmonious cooperation among all races for mutual advancement. As a result the work of the Urban League is being felt nation-wide. The League has sought each year to advance the cause of social work among Negroes by trying to secure as much helpful discussion of the Negro question as possible at the various conferences and meetings on social work.

One of the most interesting features of the League's industrial programs has been the industrial campaigns which have been waged in various sections of the country, usually for a week at the time, to open up new opportunities for the employment of colored people and to impress upon them the importance of efficiency on the job. Such campaigns involving the use of the radio, public addresses before Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, church groups, white and colored, and personal interviews with prospective employers have been conducted in Philadelphia, Boston, Milwaukee, Springfield, Indianapolis, and many other important cities in which large numbers of Negroes have been found.

The industrial department has not only tried to secure new openings for Negro workers through the means indicated above but has also made an effort to acquaint industrial welfare workers with the best methods of introducing the Negro workers into new jobs. Mr. Hill, the able director of the Industrial Research department, has tried to acquaint these placement secretaries with available new fields and instances in which Negroes have made success in unusual positions.

The Association bears the endorsement of many of the most influential and high spirited citizens, white and colored, in most of the largest cities in the United States. At present the outlook for the successful solution of the economic problem of the negro is encouraging.

B. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

In the Summer of 1925 the dissatisfaction of the Pullman Porters with working conditions and with the company's union as a means of bettering them had reached a serious stage. They therefore organized or attempted to organize themselves into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and formulated a series of demands. Within a year they had a national labor union with headquarters in New York City, withgroups in most of the largest cities in the North and some in the South.

This organization has the endrosement of the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhood, leading Negro organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, Negro Elks, and of prominent Attorneys. In New York, a citizens' committee of 100 is supporting the organization and leading Negro clergy have issued statements in its favor.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is the first and only national Negro union in the United States. Its success will greatly influence the future of the race in American industry and make for better race relations.

A rahter extensive discussion of the porters union, contention, and opposition, and present status will be dealt with in another section of this study.

C. National Asso. For the Advancement of Colored People.

The history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is so interesting that a few brief statements concerning its origin might serve as a worthwhile beginning. In the summer of 1908, the country was shocked by the account of the race riots at Springfield, Illinois. Here in the home of Abraham Lincoln, a mob containing many of the town's "best citizens" raged for two days, killed and wounded scores of Negroes, and drove thousands from the city. Articles on the subject appeared in newspapers and magazines. Among them was one in the Independent by William E. Walling, entitled"Race War in the North." Describing the atrocities committed against the Negro people, Mr. Walling declared:

> "Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must be revived and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality or Vardamen and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North."#

Miss Mary White Ovington, a long-time student of conditions among Negroes, read Mr. Walling's article and accepted his challenge. Consequently, they met in New York, City along with other prominent and public spirited citizens to discuss plans whereby these atrocities might never again be repeated. The meeting was successful and their plans were highy endorsed by many other white citizens who joined them in their new beginning.

#See Handbook on "How the Association for the Advancement of Colored People started."
(Office of the Secretary,69 Fifth Avenue, New York, City)

After the adjournment of this meeting, the committee sought the support of Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, president of the New York Evening Post Company. He received their suggestions with enthusiasm and aided in securing the cooperation of able and representative men and women. It was he who drafted the Lincoln's birthday call and helped to give it wide publicity. I think the call has so much significance and weight for the present time that it would not be out of place to quote a few of the more outstanding paragraphs from it:

"The celebration of the Centenial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, widespread and grateful as it may be, will fail to justify itself it it takes no note of and makes no recognition of the colored men and women for whom the great Emancipator labored to assure freedom. Besides a day of rejoicing, Lincoln's birthday in 1909 should be one of stock-taking of the nation's progress since 1865.

"How far it has lived up to the obligations imposed upon it by the Emancipation Proclamation? How far has it gone in assuring to each and every citizen, irrespective of color, the equality of opportunity and equality before the law, which underlie our American institutions and are guranteed by the Constitution?

"If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be discouraged and disheartened. He would learn that on the first day of January, 1909, Georgia had rounded out a new confederacy by disfranchising the Negro, after the manner of all the other Southern States. He would learn that the Supreme Court of the United States, supposedly a bulwark of American Liberties, had refused every opportunity to pass squarely upon the disfranchisement of millions, by laws avowedly discriminatory and openly enforced in such a manner that white men may vote and black men be without a vote in their government; he would discover therefore, that taxation without representation is the lot of millions of wealth producing American citizens, in whose hands rests the economic progress and welfare of an entire section of the country..... Added to this, the spread of lawless attack upon the Negro, North and South, West, even in the Springfield made famous by Lincoln- often accompanied by revolitn, brutalities, sparing neither sex nor age nor youth."#

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could but shock the author of the sentiment "that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

"Silence under these conditions means tacit approval... Hence we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty.

This call was signed by many of the most prominent white and colored citizens of the country. The organization now has one of the largest following of any Negro organization in the entire country and it presents the cause of the Negro more completely than any similiar organization.

The Association exists in order to combat the spirit of persecution which confronts the colored people of this land, safe-guard their full civil, legal and political rights, and secure for them equality of opportunity with all other citizens. It aims to make 12,000,000 Americans physically free from peonage; mentally free from ignorance; politically free from disfranchisement; socially free from insult.

II The Threatened Strike of the Pullman Porters.

The history of the Pullman Porters' union is short but yet a very courageous one. Since 1925, under the courageous leadership of A. Philipp Randolph, this organization has not only served to awaken the Negro workers to the wholesale exploitation which is taking place among them by the pullman Company, but has waged a determined fight in order to secure better wages, working conditions, shorter hours, and a general recognition of their union by the Company officials. As indicative of the present conditions among the porters the following letter from the president of the union will serve to verify:

"Briefly, wages are now $72.50 a month; average tips $58; expenses for porters which consists in buying uniforms twice a year, food in transit and at termini, shoe polish for shining passengers' shoes, is $33 a month. Porters pay this out of their gross wages.

"Porters work on a mileage oasis of 11,000 miles or nearly 400 hours a month.

"Porters only make $72.50 a month who have a regular run and work the entire month. There are thousands of extra porters who may or may not get a rum a month. He makes something if he goes out and nothing if he does not. Some of them draw checks of $7 and $10 pay days.

"Porters are required to do what is known as preparatory time which consists in making ready berths for passengers before trian leaves station. The pay of the porters does not begin until the train leaves the station. Many porters give three and four hours to the Company for nothing.

"They also do dead-heading duty, namely, accompanying cars from destination to destination, they make no tips on such trips since no passengers are on such cars."#

Randolph, A.P; Personal Letter, 239 West 136th St;N.Y.C.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters asks of the Pullman Company the recognition of the Brotherhood, a living wage instead of tips, abolition of the preparatory time, pay for overtime, 240 hours work month. These requests, the company flatly refuses the union men. The Company flatly refused to arbitrate, while the Brotherhood gladly accepted. The United States Mediation Board recognizes the Brotherhood and the public as provided by law. Unable to adjust the dispute between the Brotherhood and the Company, the Mediation Board ceased its efforts and notified the Company and the Brotherhood of the fact. Under the law the next step was to threaten a substantial interruption of the Interstate Commerce, thereby necessitating the establishment of an Emergency Board by the president of the United States acting upon the recommendation of the United States Mediation Board.

Accordingly, the Brotherhood proceeded to ballot its membership on the question of a strke resulting in the unprecented vote of over 6,00 for, and less than 50 against. With this mandate from its members, Brotherhood then set June 8, as the date when the strike would go into effect and called upon the Mediation Board to examine the strike ballots and make its recommendations

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"The Pullman Porters'Struggle for Freedom." issued by (The Boston Citizens' Committee, 6 Mass.Ave;Boston)

to President Coolidge..... With the Mediation Board's regrettable failure to function with equal dispatch in the interest of Negro Pullman Porters and maids, the Brotherhood was prepared definitely to interrupt transportation by calling upon all it porters and maids to strike Friday, June 8th, at noon. At this point, Mr. William M. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, telegraphed the office of the Brotherhood "to postpone the strike until a campaign of education and public enlightenment regarding the justice of their case and the seriousness of their greivances could be organized which would win for them public support and the backing of organized labor."

Having exhausted every reasonable means, legal and otherwise, to settle their greivances with the Company, and being reluctant to resort to a strke which would work a great hardship to them, the porters now rest their case before the bar of public opinion.

III Summary:

It would appear therefore, from the evidence presented herewith that although the Negro worker occupies a very undesirable social and economic status in American life, he has made progress, and in many cases through his own efforts. In the industrial field he stands at the very foot of the latter which leads to better wages, wholesome working conditions, collective bargaining and profit-sharing. It also appears that wherever and whenever his interests or labor come into competition with that of white labor, he has been displaced. As a group they reserve the right to work in the lowest paid jobs, and jobs which the white worker does not want.

Exploitation, injustice and industrial barriers are the lot of 12,000 of these workers today in one field alone- the Pullman Service. For nearly a half century the Negro porters have been engaged in the service of the Pullman Company and with few exceptions, their wages today are practically the same as it was when they first entered the service.

It was shown that he is denied access to wholesome recreational facilities and most of the social agencies for the promotion of happiness,decency in family living because of inadequate wages, and adequate educational opportunities in the South; yet, in spite of these handicaps, he has made improvements.

It has been shown that the Negro worker in the South has made but little improvement in the various industries because of race prejudice, and consequently has to make a spiritual appeal for justice in the courts, in better educational opportunities, and in the matter of decent wages for the support of their families. In some sections of the South peonage is the stronghold of many land owners who have to deal in any manner with ignorant Negro workers. Despite the Negro's training and mastery of the trades and professions, his place in domestice and personal service jobs seems to be conceded to him. In no case can he bid for jobs which white workers desire to do in the South today. Here in this section, his position in the agricultural field seems to be assured. He has made rapid advancement in this line because of his peculiar fitness to this kind of work, especially cotton-picking.

The economic future of the race is at present very uncertain. His present industrial position is the most disturbing feature of the situation. His status as a permanent force or factor in industry is not fixed nor assured. Whether he can gain and hold a position in the field of industry is still in doubt, according to his past history.

Because of circumstances the Negro as a group has made an undesirable place for himself. In some particulars he has caused much suspicion on the part of his white fellow worker because of his reputation as a strike breaker. The strike breaker is intolerable

to the union man and the cause which they represent.

What is most significant about the Negro's present status in American life is the great influx of Negro to Northern cities from the South. That this movement will have a great economic effect both upon the migrants themselves and the sections from which they migrate, there can be no doubt. Already the results of its can be seen on the farms of the South and reflected in the daily lives of those who migrated. The most serious nation-wide problem which confronts the Negro today is the opportunity which he enjoys in gaining employment into the various industries in which he is capable of advancing. Historically, he has been denied opportunities in many fields which he could easily master because of prejudice on the part of employers and white employees.

Next to the Negro men in industry come the Negro women whose entrance into the various industries since 1914 has been largely an experiment. At present no one can predict with any degree of certainty,what her place is to be. Like the Negro men, she is being exploited because of ignorance and prejudice. Seldom is she paid on equal terms with white women workers for doing the same type of work. Whether the Negro can make his place secure in industry remains to be seen. So long as he remains unorganized there can never be any hope for a successful economic independence.

IV. Conclusions

Any prediction as to the future of the Negro in American life would be unsafe and unscientific. There has been of course great advancement made in the past but when measured by any external standards the rate has been slow and the progress uneven. His present opportunities to advance in certain lines is rather definitely limited.

Next to the question of the mere physical survival of the race, certainly this one, which has to do with the obtaining of a livlihood, bears most vitally of all upon the welfare of the Negro people. The case may indeed, be put more strongly; upon the Negro's capacity to earn his daily bread depends, in the long run, the very perpetuation of his racial stock, while unless his ability proves equal to providing something more than enough to meet the minimum needs of bare subsistence, all hope of any real and permanent progress on his part, must be forsakened. As Mr. John M. Daniels says of him:

> "In the absence of an economic surplus, no strong social order can be built up, nor can the social amenities and ameliorations be cultivated in any substantial measure; for neither the necessary respite from incessant toil nor the requisite material resources will be present. In the last analysis, the economic well-being; and as he cannot move forward in other directions except upon a sound economic basis, so, reversely, it follows that with such a foundation he stands in the way of advancing all along the lines."#

In Freedom's Birthplace."Daniels,J; P.309.

Various efforts have been made to solve the economic aspect of the Negro problem. If and until this problem is satisfactory settled all other issues pertaining to the Negro people as independent citizens, to my mind, will mean but little. For after all the race or group which must depend upon the benovelence of some other race or group cannot reasonably aspire to other points of citizenship until it is able and capable of managing its own economic destiny. The economic aspect of the Negro life, involves the idea of developing businesss, industrial and professional classes who will cater to Negroes and have a monopoly of their buying power. At the same time they must finally come to the point when they will be able to furnish employment to the members of their own race. The group will then be economically and culturally independent of the whites and produce everything from food and service to art and literature that it consumes.

Most of the few businesses that Negroes have gone into on a large scale have been successful. There are at present many Negro insurance companies which are giving employment to thousands of colored men and women throughout the country. And yet they are not the type of economic organizations I would advise as a final solution of the problem. They are parasitic in nature.

In fact, most of the economic enterprises of Negroes are parasitic at present. They do not produce but live of the wages of working Negroes. The thing that I would urge is the entrance of Negroes into manufacturing which is not parasitic but is primary and productive.

I would also urge that Negroes give more thought to "a back to the farm movement." There is no reason why the Negroes could not develop the same type of strong agricultural cooperation as the Italia Fruit Growers of Southern California. On these two points, the matter of business and manufacturing and"a back to the farm drive", Dr. W.E.B. Dubois says in an editorial in the Crisis for May, 1928:

> "There is to my mind only one way out: Manufacturing and consumer's cooperation among the major part of the 12,000,000 on a wide and ever increasing scale. There must be the slow but carefully planned growth of manufacturing trusts. Beginning with the raising of raw material on Negro farms, extending to Negro factories, its distribution to Negro cooperative stores, supported by intelligent and loyal Negro consumers. Such an organization is above and beyond race prejudice and trust competition. Once established on the basis of the English, Scandinavian, German, and Russian Cooperatives, it would insure the economic independence of the Negro American for all time."#

Besides, this could grow credit system and cooperative banks which could bring the Negro American into carefully articulated cooperation with the West Indies and South America, and with South and West Africa.

Dubois, W.E.B; "Crisis" May, 1928.

Circumstances in the past have made the Negro people quite dependent upon other races for their support. Too often, to my mind, Negroes have allowed themselves to believe that his interests would be safeguarded by northern philanthropists as was the case soon after the close of the Civil War. While it is true that many of their best friends are yet among the men and women of the North, it must not be forgotten that as a race, they are expected to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities quite the same as other independent people. The race that does and cannot support itself independently of the aid of other races, to my thinking, cannot rightly aspire to the things which go along with independence, self-help and self-respect. As Dr. Dubois says of the Negro:

"It is idiotic, it is criminal for American Negroes to stagger blindly on, hugging the fond illusion that white philanthropy through industrial education is going to furnish them with future employment and economic independence. It is equally idiotic to hope that white laborers will become broad enough or wise enough to make the cause of black labor their own. These things will never be done in our day. Our economic future lies in the hands of carefully trained thinkers, technical engineers, and the unswerving will to sacrifice on the part of the intelligent masses."#

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